

Message Text

SECRET

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6970

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 3316

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PGOV, CY, TU
SUBJECT: MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS ISSUE: CONVERSATION WITH FONMIN
CHRISTOPHIDES

REF: (A) NICOSIA 3291, (B) STATE 294982

SUMMARY: CHRISTOPHIDES SAYS GOC PERCEIVES A USG-GOT UNDERSTANDING, FORMULATED DURING SECRETARY'S MEETINGS WITH CAGLAYANGIL, ON STEPS GOT WILL TAKE TO ENABLE US ADMINISTRATION TO PASS DCA IN MARCH OR APRIL. GOC REMAINS HIGHLY SKEPTICAL THAT TURKEY WILL PRODUCE ANYTHING OF CONSEQUENCE AND WILL CALL THE SHOTS AS IT SEES THEM. HOWEVER, CHRISTOPHIDES WILL RECOMMEND TO COUNCIL OF MINISTERS/ NATIONAL COUNCIL THAT GOC PROBE TURKISH INTENTIONS THROUGH GOOD OFFICES OF USG AS COUNSELOR NIMETZ HAD SUGGESTED TO AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU. COMMENT: CHRISTOPHIDES DEMONSTRATED AN APPARENT DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH CAGLAYANGIL. END COMMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. GOC FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES ASKED ME TO CALL DEC 20. AT THE OUTSET HE SAID HE WANTED MY PERSONAL THINIING ON A MOST SENSITIVE MATTER. HE SAID HE WOULD BE LEAVING FOR A TWO-WEEK VACATION IN KENYA DEC 22 AND NEEDED TO HAVE A POSITION FOR THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS/
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NATIONAL COUNCIL (CM/NC) BEFORE THEN.

2. IN BRIEF, CHRISTOPHIDES SAID, FROM A GREAT VARIETY OF SOURCES AND COMMUNICATIONS GOC SEES THE FOLLOWING PICTURE EMERGING: COUNSELOR NIMETZ AND LEDSKY WENT TO ANKARA. SECRETARY VANCE THEN HAD MEETINGS WITH CAGLAYANGIL IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON. SINCE THAT

TIME US OFFICIALS HAVE SPOKEN WARMLY OF A TURNAROUND IN TURKISH ATTITUDES ON CYPRUS. BOTH IN PUBLIC AND IN PRIVATE, THE US REFERRED TO CAGLAYANGIL'S BAYRAM STATEMENTS AS CONFIRMATION OF THIS CHANGE. NIMETZ SUGGESTED TURKISH POSITIONS BE PROBED THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE US. DENKTASH MADE A STATEMENT ABOUT RETURN OF SOME GREEK HOTEL OWNERS TO VAROSHA UNDER CONTINUING TURKISH CONTROL. INDEPENDENTLY, THE GOC HAS HEARD THAT IN US-TURKISH THINKING THE FIGURE OF THOSE ALLOWED TO RETURN MIGHT SO AS HIGH AS 10,000 TO 15,000. THERE IS MENTION OF REOPENING NICOSIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. TURKEY HAS ANNOUNCED A NEGLIGIBLE TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND THIS HAS BEEN GREETED BY THE US AS A STEP FORWARD.

3. CHRISTOPHIDES OBSERVED THAT THERE SEEMS TO BE AN AGREED US-TURKISH "SCENARIO" DEVELOPED AT THE VANCE-CAGLAYANGIL MEETINGS UNDER WHICH TURKEY WILL TAKE CERTAIN STEPS WHICH WILL JUSTIFY PRESIDENT CARTER PRESSING CONGRESS FOR PASSAGE OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT IN MARCH OR APRIL.

4. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HIS PROBLEM WAS WHAT TO RECOMMEND TO CM/NC IN TERMS OF GOC REACTIONS TO THE FOREGOING INFORMATION.

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TM I BEGAN MY REPLY BY SAYING THAT I AM NOT PRIVY TO THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL. CHRISTOPHIDES INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT PERHAPS HE COULD HELP ON THAT SCORE. HE THEN PRODUCED FROM HIS DESK SEVERAL PAGES OF A MIMEOGRAPHED OR XEROXED REPORT WHICH FROM ITS QUALITY I COULD SEE WAS NOT LOCALLY PREPARED. HE READ ME SEVERAL PORTIONS, IN ENGLISH, OF WHAT SEEMED TO BE ALMOST VERBATIM DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND CAGLAYANGIL. ONE PORTION, FOR EXAMPLE, REPORTED CAGLAYANGIL'S UNWILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE A WRITTEN STATEMENT OF TURKISH INTENTIONS ON FLEXIBILITY AND THE STEPS TURKEY MIGHT TAKE PURSUANT TO THE US-TURKISH UNDERSTANDING.

6. IN RESPONSE TO CHRISTOPHIDES' REITERATED REQUEST FOR MY THOUGHTS, I REPEATED THAT I WAS NOT AWARE OF DETAILS OF THE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE AND CAGLAYANGIL. I DID KNOW THAT THE US SIDE HAD COME AWAY BELIEVING THAT TURKEY APPRECIATES THAT PROGRESS ON CYPRUS IS ESSENTIAL TO SAFEGUARD ITS VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS. I KNEW WE WERE HOPING THAT TURKEY WOULD FIND ITS OWN WAY TOWARDS MEANINGFUL STEPS AND DO SO AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

MARCH/APRIL IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT IS THEN THAT THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS MUST CONSIDER MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY FOR THE COMING YEAR. THERE ARE TWO PATHS: EITHER A SINGLE YEAR AD HOC ARRANGEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF LAST YEAR OR, MUCH NEATER, PASSAGE OF BOTH DCA'S. OUR OBJECT IS TO PROMOTE CYPRUS PROGRESS BY ALL THE MEANS AT HAND, NOT TO DECEIVE. GOC CAN HAVE CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S ASSURANCE THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF TANGIBLE CYPRUS PROGRESS THERE WILL NOT BE A DCA.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 3316

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7. CHRISTOPHIDES ASKED IF I REALLY THOUGHT TURKEY WAS PREPARED TO MOVE. I REPLIED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO FIND OUT WAS FOR GOC TO PULL, PUSH AND PROBE, AS NIMETZ HAD SUGGESTED TO DIMITRIOU. I SAID THERE WAS ANOTHER SIDE TO THIS COIN WHICH I WISHED TO MENTION BUT NOT AS A THREAT. CHRISTOPHIDES HAD (EARLIER) REFERRED TO "PENTAGON AND WESTERN ERUOPEAN" PRESSURES TO LEAVE THE CYPRUS ISSUE ASIDE, LIFT THE EMBARGO AND RESUME REARMING TURKEY IN THE INTEREST OF A STRONG NATO. I SAID THAT IF THERE WERE INDEED ADVOCATES OF THIS COURSE, THEIR VOICES WOULD BE STRENGTHENED IF IT APPEARED THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD REJECTED OUT OF HAND POTENTIAL OPENINGS FROM THE TURKISH SIDE.

8. CHRISTOPHIDES AGREED. HOWEVER, GOC CANNOT DECEIVE ITS OWN PUBLIC OR LET OTHERS FORM FALSE IMPRESSIONS: FOR EXAMPLE THE RETURN OF 15,000 GREEK CYPRIOTS TO FAMAGUSTA WOULD BE "TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE" IF RETURN WAS TO BE UNDER TURKISH ADMINISTRATION EVEN TEMPORARILY. HIS OWN IDEA WAS TO RECOMMEND TO CM/NC THAT GOC BE PREPARED TO BARGAIN ON AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT FOR

VAROSHA WITH RETURN OF AN AGREED NUMBER UNDER A UN
ADMINISTRATION. AS FOR NICOSIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT,
GOC HAS NO INTEREST IN PAYING ANY PRICE OF PRINCIPLE
FOR A REOPENING IT DOES NOT NEED.

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9. OUR DISCUSSION CONTINUED ALONG THESE LINES FOR
ANOTHER TWENTY MINUTES. IN THE END, CHRISTOPHIDES SIAD
IT WOULD BE HIS RECOMMENDATION THAT GOC ACCEPT US
ADVICE AND PROBE TURKISH FLEXIBILITY IN AS POSITIVE A
MANNER AS POSSIBLE, COUNTING ON THE US TO ELP BRING THE
TURKS ALONG. HE HIMSELF DOUBTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE
COULD OR WOULD BE ANYTHING MORE FROM THE TURKISH SIDE THAN
AN EFFORT TO CREATE GOOD APPEARANCES. HE CITED WHAT
HE REGARDED AS THE IMMINENT COLLAPSE OF THE DEMIREL
GOVERNMENT.

10. AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION, I ASKED WHEN WE
MIGHT EXPECT TO HEAR FROM GOC PURSUANT TO NIMETZ'S
SUGGESTION TO DIMITRIOU. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID THERE
WOULD BE NOTHING UNTIL AFTER HIS RETURN IN EARLY
JANUARY.

11. COMMENT: I FEAR THIS CONVERSATION CONFIRMS OUR
EVALUATION IN PARA SEVEN OF REF A. WHILE THERE
WERE SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THIS DISCUSSION WITH
CHRISTOPHIDES, HIS BASIC MESSAGE SEEMED TO BE THAT GOC IS
INFORMED OF US PLANNING, NO MATTER HOW CLOSELY HELD; USG
CANNOT EXPECT GREEKS TO SIT STILL WHILE THE TURKISH ARMS
EMBARGO, WHICH GREEKS THINK IS REALLY BEGINNING TO BITE,
IS LIFTED IN EXCHANGE FOR WHAT GREEKS REGARD AS COSMETIC
GESTURES. END COMMENT.

12. DEPT REPEAT AT DISCRETION TO ANKARA AND ATHENS.
CRAWFORD

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